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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the extent and significance of black suburbanization from the late 1950s to the mid-1970s in 19 of the nation's largest metropolitan areas (SMSAs). The basic question addressed is whether blacks are moving more rapidly to suburban areas in the 1970s than in previous decades. A second focus is on the socioeconomic characteristics of suburbanizing blacks. Data on migration between cities and suburbs from the Current Population Survey and the Annual Housing Survey are compared with equivalent information from earlier census data to examine recent black migration trends and to determine how black suburbanization differs throughout the nation. It is concluded that black migration patterns have shifted since 1970 in all of the SMSAs studied but that black rates of movement from city to suburb remain below those of whites in most of the SMSAs. It is also suggested that black suburbanization to date represents choice rather than displacement, since blacks who have moved to the suburbs are found to be above average in education and income. (Author/EB)

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RECENT SUBURBANIZATION OF BLACKS:

HOW MUCH, WHO, AND WHERE

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The Office of Economic Affairs
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by

Kathryn P. Nelson

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Data from the Annual Housing Surveys are available in joint HUD-Census publications. The national data are published in Series H-150, comprising six reports, and the metropolitan data are published in Series H-170, with a separate report for each metropolitan area. Series H-171 is a supplementary report on the metropolitan areas. These reports are also available in microfiche form from the Library, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., 20233. The published reports may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 20402. All the data are available in public use computer tapes from the Data User Services Division, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., 20233.

The research forming the basis for this report was conducted by the Housing and Demographic Analysis Division in the Office of Policy Development and Research, U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

FOREWORD

This paper is the first in a series of Annual Housing Survey Studies, intended to report on research that utilizes the capabilities of the AHS for monitoring and interpreting current developments in housing, neighborhood, and household characteristics. It compares AHS data from the mid-1970's with earlier Census data to assess the implications of recent changes in national migration patterns.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development has funded the collection of a national housing survey by the Bureau of the Census since 1973, with separate surveys for sixty metropolitan areas included since 1974. The survey is designed to provide current information on the size and composition of the housing inventory, the characteristics of its occupants, the changes in the inventory resulting from new construction and from losses, indicators of housing and neighborhood quality, and the characteristics of recent movers. The data also describe the current population characteristics and dynamics of urban housing markets annually for the nation and four regions, and at three or four-year intervals for most of the 50 largest metropolitan areas and some smaller, fast-growing metropolitan areas.

In designing the AHS, we intended to encourage policy-makers and scholars to use it to understand urban dynamics and to analyze local policy problems. The possibility of a longitudinal linkage of the annual national file provides them with an unparalleled opportunity to study dynamic process in housing markets and population shifts, while the metropolitan surveys give greater detail on the housing and personal characteristics of suburbs and cities within specified metropolitan areas.

The Kathryn P. Nelson paper, which is based on analyses of AHS public-use tapes, exemplifies the usefulness of the metropolitan sample in examining the diversity of experience in local areas that lies behind national trends.

Because of national concern about past trends toward racial concentration in central cities, the post-1970 reversal in black migration has received much attention. Dr. Nelson's analysis demonstrates that the level and rate of black suburbanization has varied greatly among the large metropolitan areas, yet in most instances

blacks are still less free than whites to move to the suburbs. Examination of the personal characteristics of migrants, however, leads her to conclude that most suburbanization to date has reflected preference rather than forced displacement from central cities.

It is my hope that this report prepared for the Office of Policy Development and Research and the studies that follow will encourage others to use the AHS data to explore spatial and other dimensions of public policies.

Donna E. Shalala
Assistant Secretary for Policy
Development and Research

ABSTRACT

Since 1970, blacks have been on net moving out of central cities, reversing a long-established trend. Because public policy has been aimed at providing equal housing opportunities for minorities in suburban areas, this reversal is generally welcomed. However, recently questions have been raised about this trend. Critics have argued that blacks are being "pushed" out of central cities by displacement.

This paper assesses three related issues: the extent to which black suburbanization varies among metropolitan areas; whether rates of movement to the suburbs by blacks still differ from those of whites; and the characteristics of suburbanizing blacks. Data on migration between cities and suburbs from the 1974, 1975, and 1976 Annual Housing Survey are compared with equivalent information from the 1960 and 1970 Censuses of Population for 19 of the nation's largest metropolitan areas (SMSAs).

The analysis concludes that black migration patterns have indeed shifted since 1970 in all of the SMSAs studied, so that there is now net movement from central cities into their suburbs by blacks as well as whites. In at least 14 of the 19 metropolitan areas, this shift has resulted in net black outmigration from the central city.

In 7 of the SMSAs, this trend has been so strong that the black rate of outmovement is beginning to approach that of whites. But in most of the remaining 12 SMSAs, black rates of movement from city to suburb remain well below white, and have increased little since 1970. In these SMSAs, the major disparities remaining between blacks and whites in choosing suburban residence indicate that the suburbs are not yet equally open to both races.

In most of the metropolitan areas studied, blacks who have moved to the suburbs are above average in education and income, suggesting that the suburbanization to date largely represents choice rather than displacement.

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RECENT SUBURBANIZATION OF BLACKS:

HOW MUCH, WHO, AND WHERE

Introduction

This paper discusses the extent and significance of black suburbanization from the late 1950s to the mid-1970s. The basic question addressed is whether blacks are moving more rapidly to suburban areas in the 1970s than in previous decades. Does the post-1970 pattern of black net outmigration from central cities represent a fundamental change or alteration in the trends that have historically increased black concentration in central cities and reduced it in suburbs? A second focus is on the pattern of differentials by socioeconomic status in black migration to and from suburbs. The most current information available on intrametropolitan migration in the nation and regions (Current Population Survey data on mobility between 1975 and 1978) and for individual metropolitan areas (Annual Housing Survey data from 1974, 1975, and 1976) is compared with earlier Census data to examine recent black suburbanization within the context of trends over the past two decades and to determine how black suburbanization differs throughout the nation.

Issues

Because of concern about the long-standing trend toward:

> predominantly black cities surrounded by almost entirely white suburbs--the geographic manifestation of "two nations, one black and one white, separate and unequal"...(National Advisory Commission, 1968),

public policy has been aimed at increasing both housing and employment opportunities for minorities in suburban areas. The Federal Fair Housing Act, for example was passed in 1968; yet many barriers remain (Rubinowitz, 1972). Recent evidence, then, of black net outmigration from central cities and publicity about the "return" of the white middle-class to financially beleaguered central cities should appear welcome.

However, just as black suburbanization appears to be increasing, its desirability is being questioned. Recent articles in the popular press suggest that central cities are "where the action is", and that increased black suburbanization may be misguided.[1] More serious is the question of why blacks are moving out of cities, with the possibility that displacement rather than choice is a principal determinant. A recent Newsweek article on central city revival, for example, asked:

> "How many of the black emigrants (from central cities to suburbs) were poor people displaced and how many were members of the growing black middle-class who moved out for the same reasons as their white counterparts?"

Displacement has become a topic of discussion and concern in Washington, with policy-makers urged to act quickly before the displacement

resulting from private and public rehabilitation and renewal equals that caused by public urban renewal and highways in the past. Congress, for example, has requested an analysis of the extent of displacement and an inventory of possible policy responses. Although firm estimates of the extent and causes of displacement are hard to obtain, HUD is examining the components of a national policy for minimizing displacement and its effects (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1979).

The current anxiety about displacement appears to have eclipsed past concern about open housing and equal access. Although Karl Taeuber warned in 1975 that the "sharp diminution in the flow of black migrants to large cities" since 1970 has brought "no evidence of sharp shifts in the residential isolation of blacks" (Taeuber, 1975), the recurring questions of the past decade about the extent and meaning of black suburbanization seem muted.[2] Instead, the tone of public debate now implies that although blacks are free to move to the suburbs, they would be unwise to do so.

Between censuses, the difficulty of determining the extent and implications of shifting migration patterns confounds policy design. Much of the evidence of revitalization and displacement is impressionistic or derived from limited case studies, and its generality is therefore subject to dispute.[3] The extent and long-run impact of central city revitalization are challenged by studies that show little increase in migration to central cities (James, 1977; Nelson, 1978), and by continued net outmigration of whites from central cities throughout the 1970s (see Table 2 below).

As is too frequently the case, data inadequacies make resolution of these issues difficult. Because tabulations of national movement between central cities and suburbs were first prepared for the 1973 Current Population Survey (CPS), it is impossible to directly compare recent CPS data on national and regional intrametropolitan population redistribution with earlier experience.[4] Until 1973, complete information on outmigration from central cities to suburbs was lacking. Even when comparisons are possible with CPS data, size of the national sample precludes many areas of concern. Previous analyses of migration and black suburbanization through 1970 have shown important differences among metropolitan areas, (Schnore, 1976), yet the impact and extent of such differences for recent suburbanization cannot be assessed with national sample data. Furthermore, most tabulations lack racial detail, while aggregating all suburbs on a national or regional level fails to distinguish lower-status suburbs or suburbs with black concentrations.

The Data

The data used in this paper are the most comprehensive presently available for addressing issues of population movement within metropolitan areas. Annual Housing Survey (AHS) samples for large metropolitan areas (SMSAs), which have been collected annually since 1974, identify the previous residence of households who have moved into each SMSA's central city or suburbs within the previous year. Previous residence is tabulated as central city or suburbs of the same or different SMSA or a nonmetropolitan area.[5] Similar information for large SMSAs from the 1960 and 1970 Censuses of Population on intrametropolitan movement by race for 1955-60 and 1965-70 make it possible to compare the rate and direction of black suburbanization during the last two decades.[6] Information on family income and education of the adult population by race permits crude analysis of socioeconomic differentials in the migration patterns.[7] Although three time periods can only approximate detailed trends, the extensive analyses of the impacts of migration patterns on racial and socioeconomic composition with data from the 1960 and 1970 Censuses imply that this comparison will aid interpretation of recent experience.

This paper examines migration by race[8] in 19 of the nation's largest SMSAs, including the 14 with largest black population in 1970 (Table 1). These data permit consideration of questions in two basic areas of concern:

- Are blacks moving more quickly to suburban areas since 1970? Is suburbanization increasing in all metropolitan areas? Are black rates of suburbanization now equal to white?

- Does the black suburbanization to date reflect choice ("members of the middle-class moving out for the same reasons as their white counterparts") or "poor people displaced"?

The first question is addressed by comparing black and white rates of suburban migration and selection during the three time periods to determine if and where past differentials by race have narrowed. On the assumption that higher-income, better educated blacks are less constrained in moving where they would prefer to live, differentials by income and education in suburban black migration are examined to infer whether recent black suburbanization represents choice or displacement. Patterns whereby blacks of higher socioeconomic class live further from the center of the city (Schnore, 1965) and better educated blacks have higher suburban selection rates (Frey, 1977) suggest that choice predominated over displacement in the past.

Unfortunately, the equally important question of whether black suburbanization represents integration on a local scale or merely reconcentration in suburban black ghettos (Grier and Grier, 1977; Rose, 1976) cannot be answered by these data. Both the AHS and the published volumes of the Census only distinguish the central city (or cities) of an SMSA from the non-city remainder. Further disaggregation of the location of blacks within suburbs must depend upon local surveys (see, for instance, Grier and Grier, 1977) or await 1980 Census data.

A second weakness of the data is the lack of information on the total number of outmigrants from a central city or its suburbs. Because of this, trends in intrametropolitan migration cannot be measured directly by comparing net migration for the three periods. Long has demonstrated (Long, 1975) that outmigration of whites was more important than black inmigration in increasing the percent black in central cities between 1950 and 1970, and Schnore (Schnore, 1965) attributed the decline in proportion black in Southern suburbs before 1960 in part to black displacement by whites. Lacking complete data on suburban outmigration, analysis of inmigration alone cannot specify whether higher black inmigration rates will increase black shares of suburban population and reduce racial polarization. But the national data presented in Table 2 below show that rates of black outmigration from suburbs had fallen by 1975-78 to the white level: thus, suburban compositional changes depend upon inmigration differentials. CPS data on regional streams of migration to and from cities and suburbs, moreover, show that the vast majority of black movers out of either cities or suburbs remains in the same metropolitan area, where their moves would be recorded by the data used here.

Intrametropolitan change by race prior to 1970

Until 1970, net migration of blacks into large Northern central cities had continued for many decades as blacks shifted from rural to urban residence. While whites, by contrast, moved from cities into suburbs and, recently, into non-metropolitan areas, black concentration increased in central cities and declined in suburbs. During the rapid suburbanization of the 1960s, for instance, the black share of the suburban population fell from 4.8 to 4.6 percent. Although migration was the primary cause of this redistribution, the tendency toward increasing black concentration in central cities is reinforced by natural increase because of the younger age composition and higher fertility rates of blacks.

Reflecting the national trend, suburbanization occurred during the 1960s in each of the 19 metropolitan areas (SMSAs) studied (see Table 1). The suburban share of the metropolitan population increased, most gradually in Los Angeles, and most extensively in New Orleans.

Evidence of racial separation is also clear. White population declined absolutely in 15 of the central cities and the proportion black increased in all 19, most notably in Newark, Washington, Detroit, and Atlanta. Although blacks were also moving to suburbs during the decade, the proportion of blacks in the suburban population increased slowly, if at all. In Detroit, Baltimore, Houston, Dallas, Atlanta and New Orleans, the black share of the suburban population decreased as white population grew more quickly. Both suburbanization and racial separation seemed to occur irrespective of the very different rates of total growth experienced by these varied metropolitan areas over the decade. As Schnore's studies of population growth and distribution between 1930 and 1970 for many of these SMSAs establishes (Schnore *et al.*, 1976), these developments were only the continuation of trends of long standing.

Most of these large metropolitan areas conform to the stereotype that the suburbs, in the aggregate, are more affluent than the central city. The exceptions to this rule are the four SMSAs in California and Texas.[9] Although suburbs within metropolitan areas clearly differ by socioeconomic status and are becoming more heterogeneous over time (Long and Glick, 1976), per capita income in 1960 was higher in the suburban ring of the SMSA than in the central city for each of the remaining 15 SMSAs. Furthermore, in each case the disparity had widened by 1973.

TABLE 1: Intrametropolitan Population Distribution and Change by Race, 1960 and 1970

SMSAs studied by rank, 1970	White Population			Black Population			
	% Distrib.		% change	Rank among SMSAs	% change	% of total	
	1960	1970	1960 - 1970	1970	1960 - 1970	1960	1970
1) New York	100	100	0.4	1	53.4	11.5	16.3
Central City	73	68	-9.3		53.2	14.0	21.2
Suburbs	27	32	23.8		55.1	4.8	5.9
2) Los Angeles	100	100	10.1	4	65.3	7.6	10.8
Central City	47	45	4.7		51.7	12.2	16.5
Suburbs	53	55	14.4		105.2	3.6	6.2
3) Chicago	100	100	7.0	2	38.3	14.3	17.6
Central City	57	48	-18.6		35.7	22.9	32.7
Suburbs	43	52	33.9		65.5	2.9	3.6
4) Philadelphia	100	100	7.7	3	25.8	15.5	17.5
Central City	46	40	-12.9		23.5	26.4	33.6
Suburbs	54	60	21.5		34.1	6.1	6.6
5) Detroit	100	100	7.0	5	35.5	14.9	18.0
Central City	44	36	-29.1		37.0	28.9	43.7
Suburbs	56	64	28.2		26.1	3.7	3.6
6) San Francisco	100	100	11.0	12	46.1	8.5	10.6
Central City	42	35	-17.2		39.7	14.3	20.5
Suburbs	58	65	28.1		60.7	4.4	5.4
7) Washington	100	100	36.4	6	42.0	24.0	24.6
Central City	37	26	-39.4		30.6	53.9	71.1
Suburbs	63	74	58.0		98.3	6.4	7.9
8) Boston	100	100	3.8	25	63.3	3.0	4.6
Central City	27	23	-16.5		65.8	9.1	16.3
Suburbs	73	77	10.6		52.6	0.8	1.1
9) Pittsburgh	100	100	-0.8	19	5.2	6.7	7.1
Central City	25	22	-18.0		4.2	16.7	20.2
Suburbs	75	78	4.2		6.9	3.4	3.5
10) St. Louis	100	100	9.4	9	28.2	14.0	16.0
Central City	36	26	-31.6		18.6	28.6	40.9
Suburbs	64	74	26.6		53.8	6.0	7.2

Cont'd. .....

TABLE 1: Intrametropolitan Population Distribution and Change by Race, 1960 and 1970

	White Population				Black Population		
	% Distrib. 1960	% Distrib. 1970	% change 1960 - 1970	Rank among SMSAs 1970	% change 1960 - 1970	% of total 1960	% of total 1970
11) Baltimore	100	100	11.0	7	27.0	21.4	23.7
Central City	52	44	-21.4		29.1	34.7	46.4
Suburbs	48	56	35.7		15.9	7.0	6.0
12) Cleveland	100	100	4.5	11	28.5	13.6	16.1
Central City	46	36	-26.5		14.8	28.6	38.3
Suburbs	54	64	23.4		452.8	0.8	3.4
13) Houston	100	100	39.4	8	38.5	19.5	19.3
Central City	66	62	25.5		47.4	22.9	25.7
Suburbs	34	38	63.3		7.7	12.9	8.9
14) Newark	100	100	2.2	10	55.5	13.3	18.8
Central City	24	21	-36.7		50.3	34.1	54.2
Suburbs	76	79	10.8		63.7	6.7	9.6
16) Dallas	100	100	36.2	16	50.0	14.8	15.9
Central City	61	54	14.2		62.8	19.0	24.9
Suburbs	39	46	66.1		4.8	8.3	5.2
20) Atlanta	100	100	37.1	14	34.2	22.8	22.3
Central City	48	36	-20.0		36.8	38.3	51.3
Suburbs	52	64	72.5		23.6	8.5	6.2
21) Cincinnati	100	100	8.1	21	16.8	10.3	11.0
Central City	40	33	-17.2		15.0	21.6	27.6
Suburbs	60	67	21.4		25.9	2.8	2.9
25) Miami	100	100	34.6	18	38.2	14.7	15.0
Central City	31	26	13.5		16.8	22.4	22.7
Suburbs	69	74	43.0		57.6	11.2	12.2
31) New Orleans	100	100	14.4	13	16.5	30.6	31.0
Central City	69	57	-17.6		14.4	37.2	45.0
Suburbs	31	43	68.0		27.4	15.9	12.5

Source: Adapted from Tables 10 and 11 of General Demographic Trends for Metropolitan Areas, 1960 to 1970, Final Report PHC (2)-1, U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Shifts in national migration patterns since 1970

National sample data from the Current Population Survey show that the turnaround in central city net migration for blacks has occurred since 1973 (Table 2). The shift between 1970-73 and 1975-78 apparently resulted from an increase in outmigration; inmigration rates remained at the same level. Because black rates of suburban inmigration rose while rates of outmigration fell, there was a sharp increase in net black migration into suburbs. Black rates of migration to and from nonmetropolitan areas changed little. Therefore, the suburban inmigration increase clearly reflected the increased flow from central cities, although the percentage change appears larger for the suburbs because of the smaller black population base there.

White migration patterns were more stable than black in the 1970s. The largest percentage point changes occurred in central cities. The increase in inmigration rates from 12.4% to 13.7% lends some support to claims for a "back-to-the-city" movement. However, the larger absolute rise in outmigration, and the accompanying change to higher net outmigration, demonstrate the dangers of relying upon measures of inmigration alone (even if they are easier to obtain and tabulate). These data represent the first chance in this decade to compare shifts in both in- and outmigration rates for comparable time periods.[10] Although one immediately wishes to know which cities are thus gaining and losing migrants, the existence and extent of a sustained "back-to-the-city" movement are challenged by these data.

Table 2: Rates of In, Out and Net Migration for Central Cities and Suburbs by Race, 1970-73 and 1975-78

	Whites		Blacks	
	1970-73	1975-78	1970-73	1975-78
Central Cities				
Inmigration rate	12.4	13.7	8.1	8.5
Outmigration rate	-21.0	-22.6	-7.8	-11.4
Net migration rate	-8.6	-8.9	+0.3	-2.9
Suburbs				
Inmigration rate	17.8	17.4	19.5	25.8
Outmigration rate	-13.3	-13.2	-17.7	-13.5
Net migration rate	+ 4.5	+ 4.2	+ 1.8	+12.2
Non-metropolitan areas				
Inmigration rate	8.4	8.3	3.8	4.6
Outmigration rate	-6.4	-6.4	-5.7	-5.9
Net migration rate	+2.0	+1.9	-1.9	-1.3

Source: Current Population Reports, "Mobility of the Population of the U.S." Series P-20, No. 262 (March 1974) and No. 331 (Nov. 1978).

Examples of the indices used to measure trends for SMSAs

In the absence of complete information on outmigration and net migration for the individual SMSAs, measuring the movement of blacks and whites to suburban areas was approached in several ways. The indices used are defined in Table 3, where their values are computed for suburban migration by region between 1975 and 1978 and compared with rates of in-, out-, and net migration.

Most straightforwardly, the percent of inmovers in the suburban population at the end of a period closely approximates the inmigration rate usually calculated on the base of population at the beginning of the period. As the first two lines of Table 3 show, the percent of inmovers overestimates the inmigration rate when the suburban population is declining, as for blacks in the Northeast, and underestimates inmigration rates most severely where populations are growing rapidly, as for blacks in the North Central region. For ease of exposition, the percent of inmovers is hereafter called the inmovement rate.[11]

Lacking better information on net migration, intrametropolitan effectiveness is used as a proxy for the direction of net migration flows.[12] As the table shows, intrametropolitan effectiveness generally reflects the direction while overstating the extent of both net migration and total effectiveness. It suggests how efficiently migration tends to redistribute population between a central city and its suburbs. Because a high proportion of black suburban inmigrants come from the central city of the same SMSA, and suburban outmigrants are most likely to move to the central city, these measures of intrametropolitan migration should capture the essential dynamics of black suburbanization.

Finally, suburban selection rates show the proportion of movers choosing suburban rather than central city residence. As Goodman (1978) has shown in examining city/suburban location choice, "the dominant determinant of where someone moves to is where they moved from." When movers are distinguished by their pre-move origin, movers previously in the suburbs are most likely to move elsewhere in the suburbs rather than into the central city, while city movers are less likely to choose the suburbs than either suburban movers or movers into the SMSA. These rates obviously reflect the locus of housing opportunities as well as preferences, so differentials by race, income, or education are of interest rather than absolute levels. For city movers, suburban selection rates serve as a proxy for outmigration because much of total outmigration from a central city flows to its suburbs. Equivalently, for suburban movers, the "city selection rate," defined as equalling (1 - the suburban selection rate), serves as a proxy of total outmigration.

The regional breakdown of the 1975-78 suburban movement demonstrates that in spite of recent increases in the black rate of inmigration into suburbs, black suburban selection rates remain decidedly lower than white in each category and region. The analysis of individual SMSAs which follows permits us to determine how this situation has changed over time and in which SMSAs the differentials by race are most notable.

Table 3: Selected Indicators of Suburban Migration 1975-78, by Region

	Northeast		North Central		South		West	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Percent inmovers [1]	10.6	17.9	13.2	20.3	19.8	21.3	22.4	33.7
Inmigration rate [2]	10.6	17.5	13.5	36.9	21.2	24.1	23.6	40.4
Outmigration rate	-10.6	-19.5	-11.3	-11.5	-14.4	-11.0	-18.3	-20.5
Net migration	0.0	-2.0	+2.2	+25.4	+6.8	+13.1	+5.3	+19.8
Effectiveness [3]	-.001	-.055	.087	.525	.191	.373	.126	.326
Intrametropolitan [4] Effectiveness	.179	-.294	.487	.611	.411	.416	.235	.263
Suburban selection rates:								
Of suburban movers [5]	.884	.743	.893	.805	.866	.769	.819	.681
Of city movers [6]	.177	.030	.359	.117	.307	.170	.366	.235
Of movers into the SMSA [7]	.719	.568	.549	.346	.543	.384	.621	.393
Percent SMSA population in suburbs 1975	.627	.207	.625	.153	.556	.285	.599	.296

Cont'd .....

TABLE 3, Continued

DEFINITIONS

1. Percent inmovers = $\frac{\text{Migrants into suburbs between time 1 and time 2}}{\text{Population at time 2}} \times 100$

2. Inmigration rate = $\frac{\text{Migrants into suburb between time 1 and time 2}}{\text{Population at time 1}} \times 100$

3. Effectiveness of migration for Area Z = $\frac{\text{Inmigrants to Z - Outmigrants from Z}}{\text{Inmigrants + Outmigrants}}$

4. Intrametropolitan effectiveness* for SMSA Y = $\frac{\text{Migrants to suburb Y from city Y} - \text{Migrants to city from suburb Y}}{\text{Migrants between central city and suburbs of Y}}$

5. Suburban selection rate of suburban movers = $\frac{\text{Movers moving within suburbs}}{\text{All movers residing in suburbs at time 1}}$ = (1 - city selection rate)

6. Suburban selection rate of city movers = $\frac{\text{Movers from city to suburb}}{\text{All movers residing in city at time 1}}$

7. Suburban selection rate of SMSA inmigrants = $\frac{\text{Migrants into suburbs from outside the SMSA}}{\text{All migrants into SMSA}}$

*(a positive value implies that net migration is directed toward the suburbs.)

Trends in Intrametropolitan Movement by Race in 19 SMSAs

Comparison of recent black intrametropolitan migration with that of the late 1950s and late 1960s reveals substantial differences among the 19 SMSAs studied. The national change to net black migration from central cities was reflected in the general shift in intrametropolitan effectiveness. After 1970 black migration came to resemble white in being effectively directed toward the suburbs. The shift appeared to result more from decreases in suburb-to-city movement than from increasing movement out of cities. Black suburban inmovement rates increased markedly in only six of the SMSAs; they remained higher than white rates in Los Angeles and Cleveland. Although white movement from cities to suburbs generally decreased from a higher rate in the late 1960s, white movement from suburbs to cities remained at the low level of previous decades: the net intrametropolitan movement of whites continued to redistribute white population from cities into suburbs. Thus, in spite of the national reversal in black migration, the mid-1970s disparities between black and white patterns suggest that black access to the suburbs remains less than white, and even suburban blacks are relatively constrained in moving to other suburban residences.

The clearest indication of the post-1970 shift in black migration patterns is the general reversal in the effectiveness of black intrametropolitan movement. By the mid-1970's black migration more closely resembled white migration in being directed from the central city into the suburbs. Although white migration flows favored the suburbs throughout, until the late 1960s more blacks were moving to the city from the much smaller suburban base than were suburbanizing in the majority of the SMSAs. But by the mid-1970s, the already low rate of black inmovement to central cities dropped further in most instances. The "central city selection rate" at which suburban blacks move "back" to the city (which may reflect rural-urban migration or the effects of housing discrimination on suburban blacks who wish to move) also fell considerably. The AHS data establish that at least 14 of the 19 SMSAs studied experienced net black outmigration from the central city in the mid-1970s in these SMSAs black outmigrants from the city to its suburbs outnumbered inmigrants from all origins. Were complete information on outmigration to all destinations available, New York, Boston, and St. Louis would probably also reveal net outmigration of blacks.[13]

In approximately half of the SMSAs, the net movement of blacks from the central city is reflected in increases in the black proportion of inmigrants to the suburbs, and in the black suburban inmovement rate (as shown in Line 1 of Figure 1). In Washington, Baltimore, and Atlanta, the increases in black suburban inmovement rates between the late 1950s and the mid-1970s were remarkable. Smaller upturns above the earlier trend were recorded in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Cincinnati, Dallas, and Miami. Black suburban inmovement rates were high for all three periods in Los Angeles and Cleveland and above white rates as well.

Suburban selection of city movers. Because of the small size of suburban black population in many SMSAs, however, high black suburban inmovement rates may be misleading; comparison of suburban selection rates of city movers better tests where suburbs are equally opening to blacks. Despite the prevalent shift in net movement, the historically low suburban selection rate of black city movers increased after 1970 in fewer than half

Fig 1 a

SELECTED INDICATORS OF SUBURBAN MIGRATION BY RACE, NORTHEAST

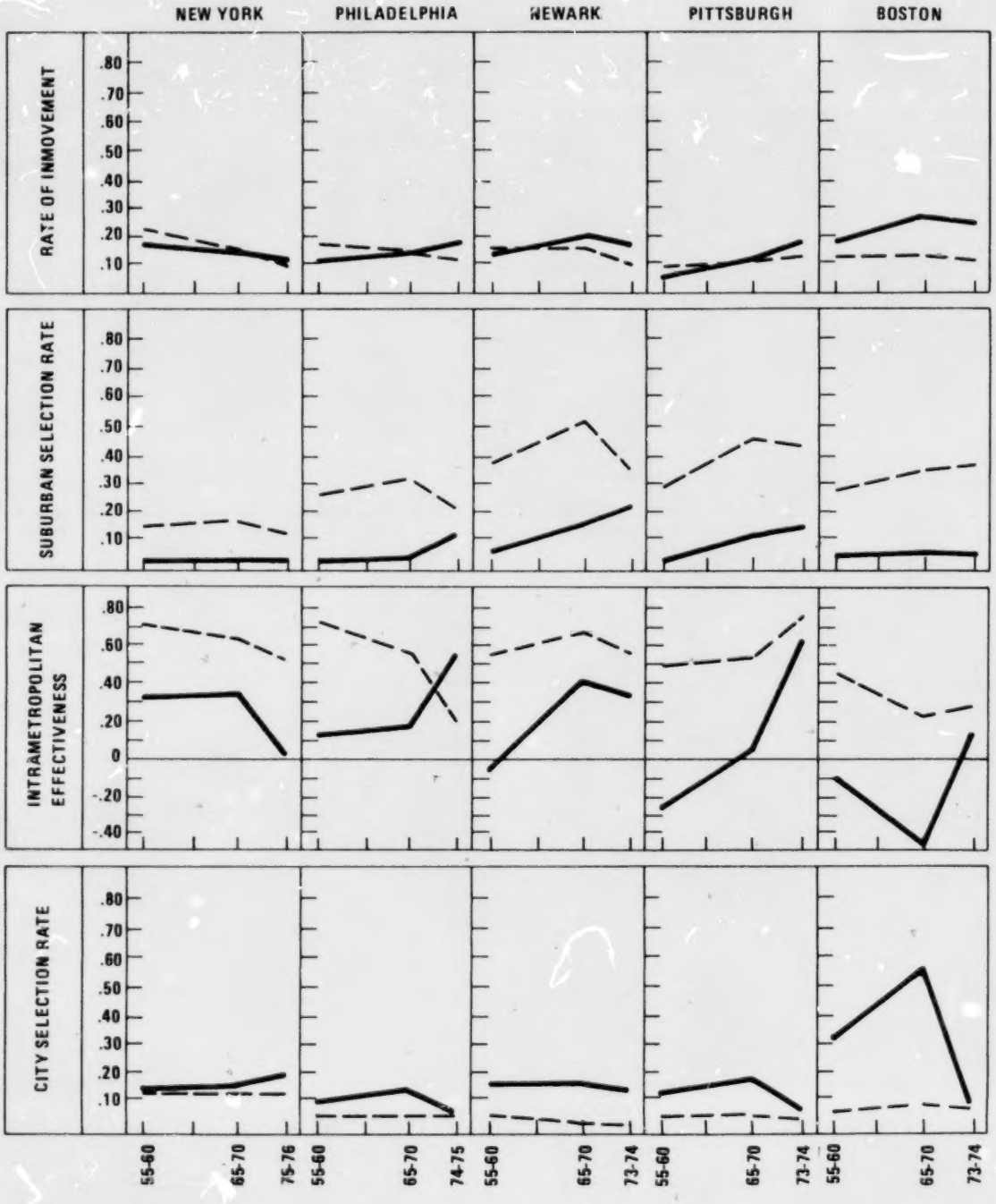


Fig 1 b

SELECTED INDICATORS OF SUBURBAN MIGRATION BY RACE, NORTH CENTRAL

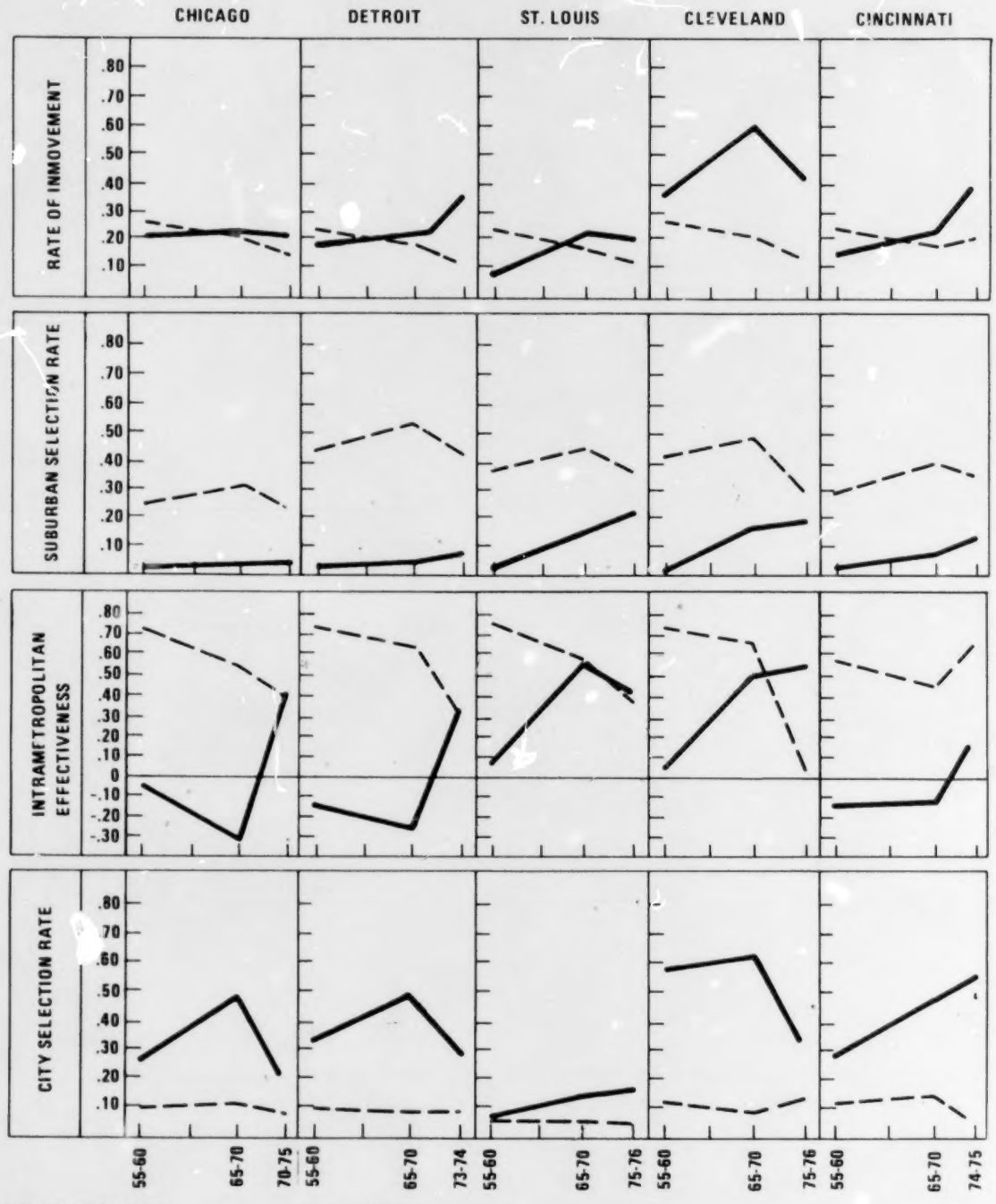


Fig 1 c

SELECTED INDICATORS OF SUBURBAN MIGRATION BY RACE, SOUTH

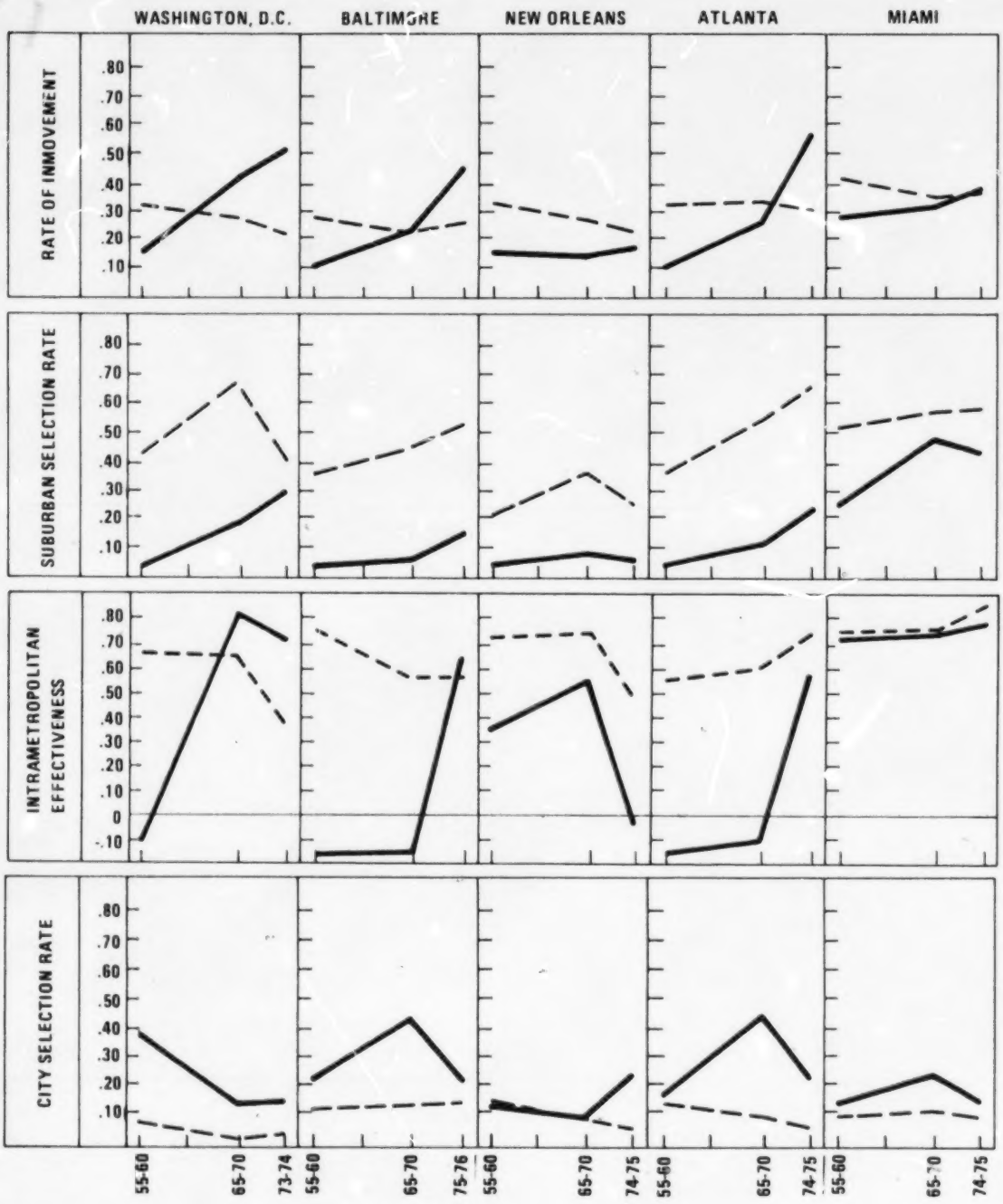
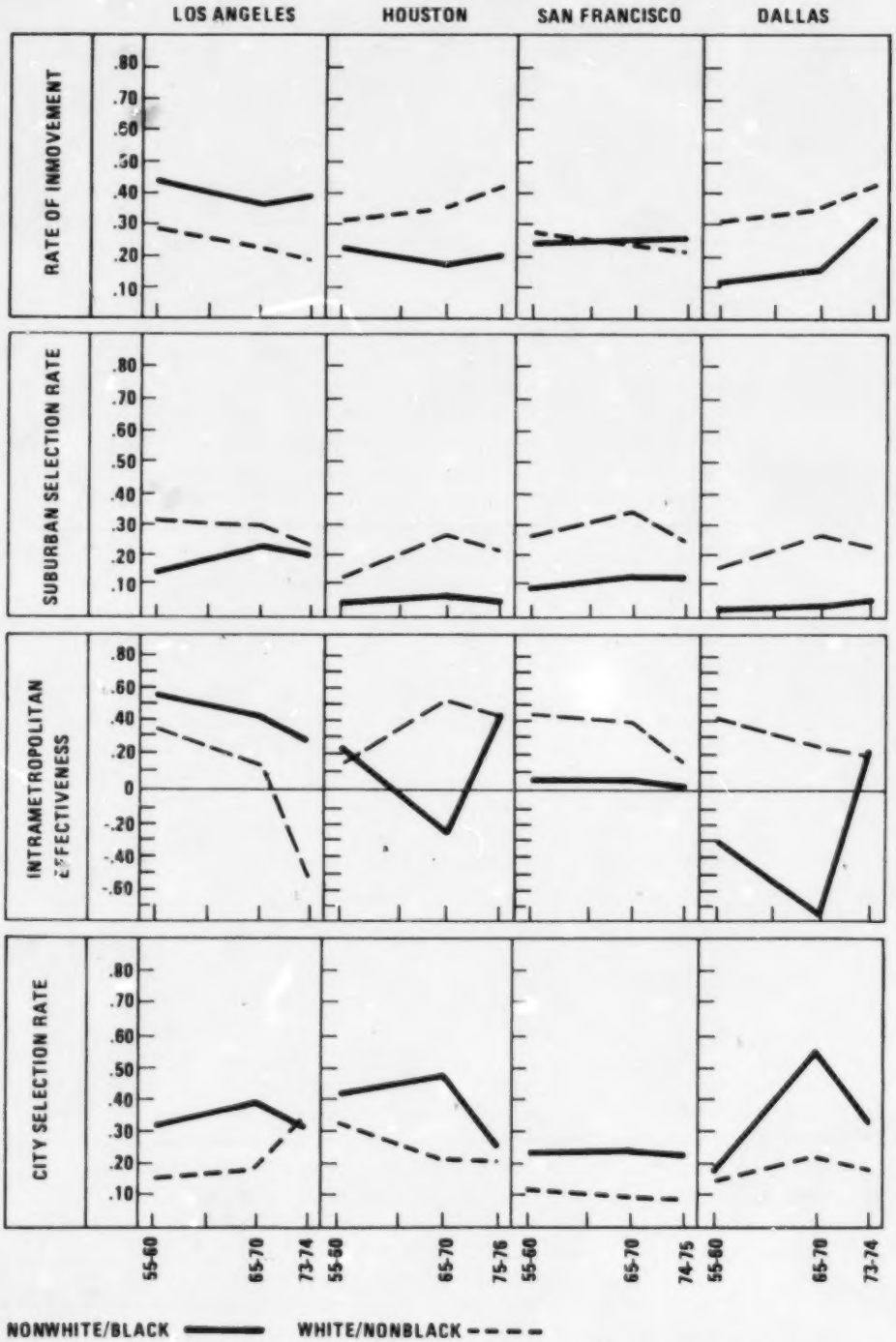


Fig 1 d

SELECTED INDICATORS OF SUBURBAN MIGRATION BY RACE, WEST



of the SMSAs (Line 2 of Figure 1). Moreover, in even fewer of these areas do black rates of movement from cities to suburbs yet approach those of whites. During the late 1950s, black suburban selection rates averaged only 10 percent of white rates, and the mid-1970s still found black rates averaging only a third of white rates. Only in Los Angeles and Miami have black rates of movement from the city approximated white rates throughout the period studied. By the mid-1970s, black suburban selection rates had increased to levels near white in Washington, Cleveland, St. Louis, Philadelphia and Newark as well. In these seven SMSAs the apparent similarity between black and white suburban selection rates suggests that blacks in these cities have become nearly as free as whites to move from central cities to their suburbs.[14]

In almost two-thirds of the SMSAs, however, the black rate of suburban selection remains less than a third of the white. In Atlanta and Baltimore, black increases were matched or exceeded by white, as "white flight" apparently continued. The gradual increases in black suburban movement in Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and Detroit only raised black rates to one-third of white. Of the remaining cities, the absence of any increase in rates of black suburban selection in New York, Boston, Chicago, Houston, Dallas, and New Orleans over two decades demonstrates that black suburbanization cannot yet be considered a nation-wide trend. In these SMSAs, the absolute rates of black movement to the suburbs increased very little on very small bases, with the level of movement too low to raise the black share of suburban population. More basically, the large absolute disparities between the suburban selection rates of blacks and whites in these SMSAs indicate that blacks who move are much more restricted to the central city than are whites, with little evidence that such restriction is easing over time.

The suburban selection rates of migrants into each metropolitan area from other SMSAs or non-metropolitan areas are not graphed in Figure 1, although they are presented in Figure 2 below. Although the suburban selection rates of migrants from outside each SMSA are usually higher than those of movers within the city, similar patterns of differentials between whites and blacks in suburban selection were observed. Invariably, a higher proportion of whites than of blacks chose suburban residence. In most instances, the post-1970 increases in black migrant suburban selection paralleled the change in black city movers' suburban selection rates. Thus, in half of the areas studied, the suburbs are not yet equally accessible to both races.

Outmigration from the suburbs. As noted above, for blacks movement from suburbs to the central city of the same SMSA constitutes a significant fraction of total outmigration. Thus, these data on intrametropolitan migration permit examination of trends in this important determinant of changes in racial composition (bottom line of Figure 2). Apparently, blacks have moved from suburbs at much higher rates than whites throughout the past two decades. The disparity was particularly outstanding during the late-1960s in most of the SMSAs outside the Northeast: The proportion of black suburban movers moving into central cities increased sharply between 1955-1960 and the late 1960s. The sharp differences between this pattern and the uniformly low rate of movement into central cities for whites and most Northeastern blacks beg explanation: Could the racial disruptions of the late 1960s have accelerated racial segregation by tightening alternate

suburban housing opportunities even for black suburban residents, as white outmigration from cities increased? Although post-1970 decline in black outmigration from suburbs indicated by these rates appears encouraging, black rates remain double those of whites in 14 of the 19 SMSAs. Furthermore, in most cases the mid-1970 rate of movement to the city of blacks is still at the 1955-1960 level, a level at which black share of suburban population was declining.

Differentials in black suburban migration by income and education

Suburbs, then, are not yet equally accessible to blacks in many metropolitan areas. But those concerned about displacement contend that black suburbanization may be forced rather than desired, with recent increases in suburban residence due to displacement from revitalizing central cities. The motivation behind recent black suburbanization can be inferred by examining trends in the suburban selection rates of blacks by income and education. A continued pattern of higher suburban selection by upper-income or better-educated blacks would imply that suburbanization is still considered desirable. Displacement, on the other hand, would be suggested by recent relative increases in the suburbanization of lower-status blacks.

Figure 2 graphs the available information on trends in black suburban rates by income and education. The top line repeats the suburban selection rate of all black city movers presented above in Figure 1, and compares it with the suburban selection rates of movers whose origin was already suburban or outside the SMSA studied. The proportion of the total SMSA population and of the black population in the suburbs during each time period is presented for comparison: suburban selection will obviously vary with the share of metropolitan housing opportunities found in the suburbs. The second line of the figure disaggregates the three black suburban selection rates to examine rates separately for blacks with family income above and below $10,000 in 1969 dollars.[15] The third line contrasts the migration behavior of blacks 25 years and above who have or have not completed high school. The final line disaggregates black intrametropolitan effectiveness by income.

Differentials in black suburban selection rates demonstrate clearly that in almost every instance, post-1970 increases in black suburbanization are still attributable to upper-income, better-educated blacks, as was previously the case. Where differentials exist at all, suburban selection rates are consistently higher for upper-income blacks in 14 of the 19 SMSAs, and education differentials generally parallel the income differentials. (For ease of exposition higher suburban selection rates for upper-income or better-educated blacks will be termed "positive" differentials in the following discussion.) Cleveland is the clearest example of this tendency with positive differentials by income and education in every category. In Detroit and Atlanta, by contrast, suburbanization rates of blacks differ little by socioeconomic class.

Five SMSAs exhibit both positive and negative differentials. In no case is the negative differential found for city movers. When out-movement from the city is higher for upper-income groups, choice may be inferred to lie behind increased black suburbanization. In Philadelphia, all income differentials are positive, reflecting higher rates of outmovement by upper-income blacks, especially since 1970;[16] the education differential is also positive for city movers. In Houston, Dallas, Miami and New Orleans, suburban selection is higher for lower-income black suburbanites or inmigrants to the SMSA. These negative differentials are consistent with the fact that only these Southern SMSAs have central cities with higher status populations than the suburbs (ACIR, 1977; Frey, 1977). But even in these SMSAs, movement from the central city was higher for upper-income blacks, with the differential increasing since 1970.

Fig 2 a

SUBURBAN SELECTION RATES OF BLACKS BY ORIGIN, INCOME, AND EDUCATION, NORTHEAST

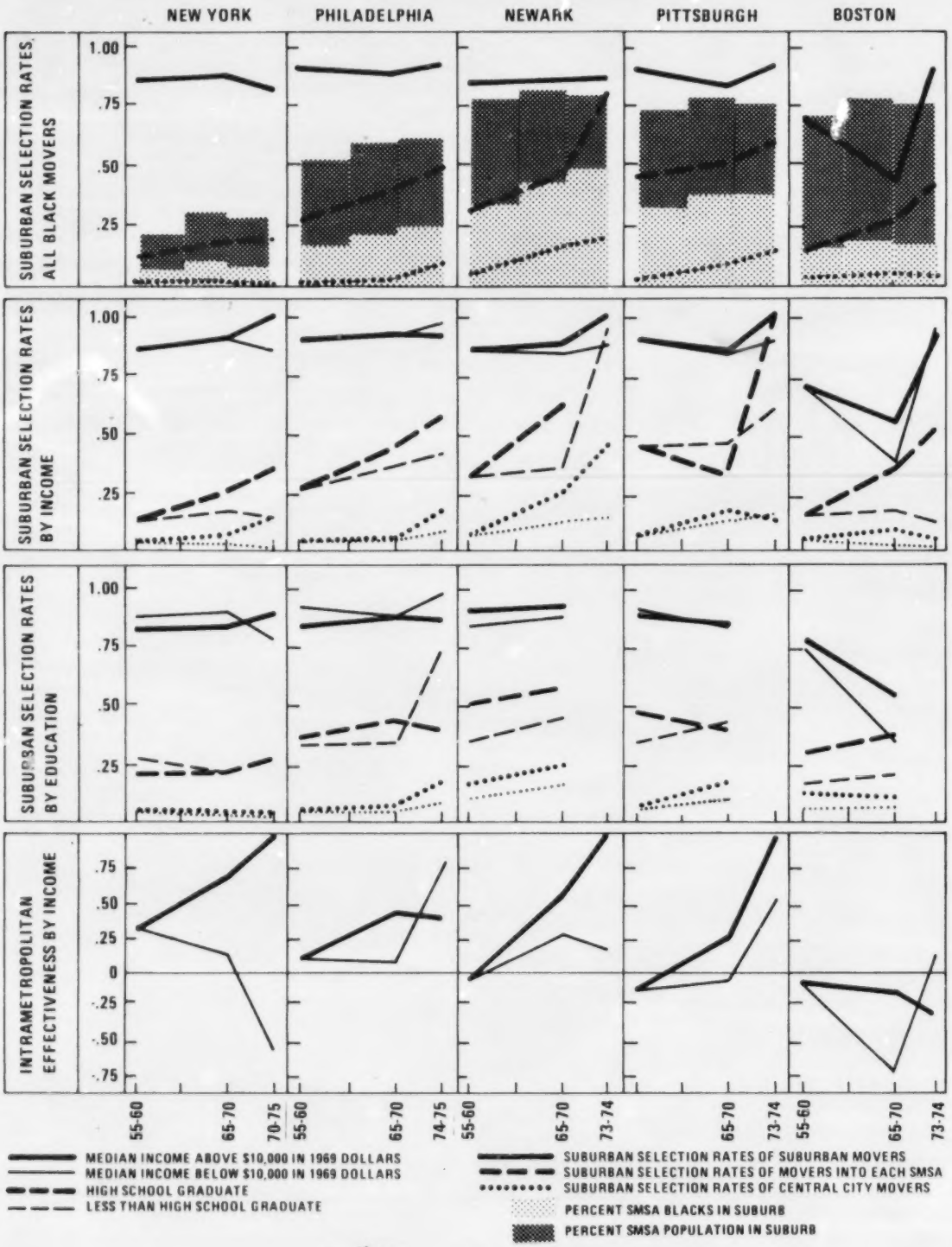


Fig 2 b

SUBURBAN SELECTION RATES OF BLACKS BY ORIGIN, INCOME, AND EDUCATION, NORTH CENTRAL

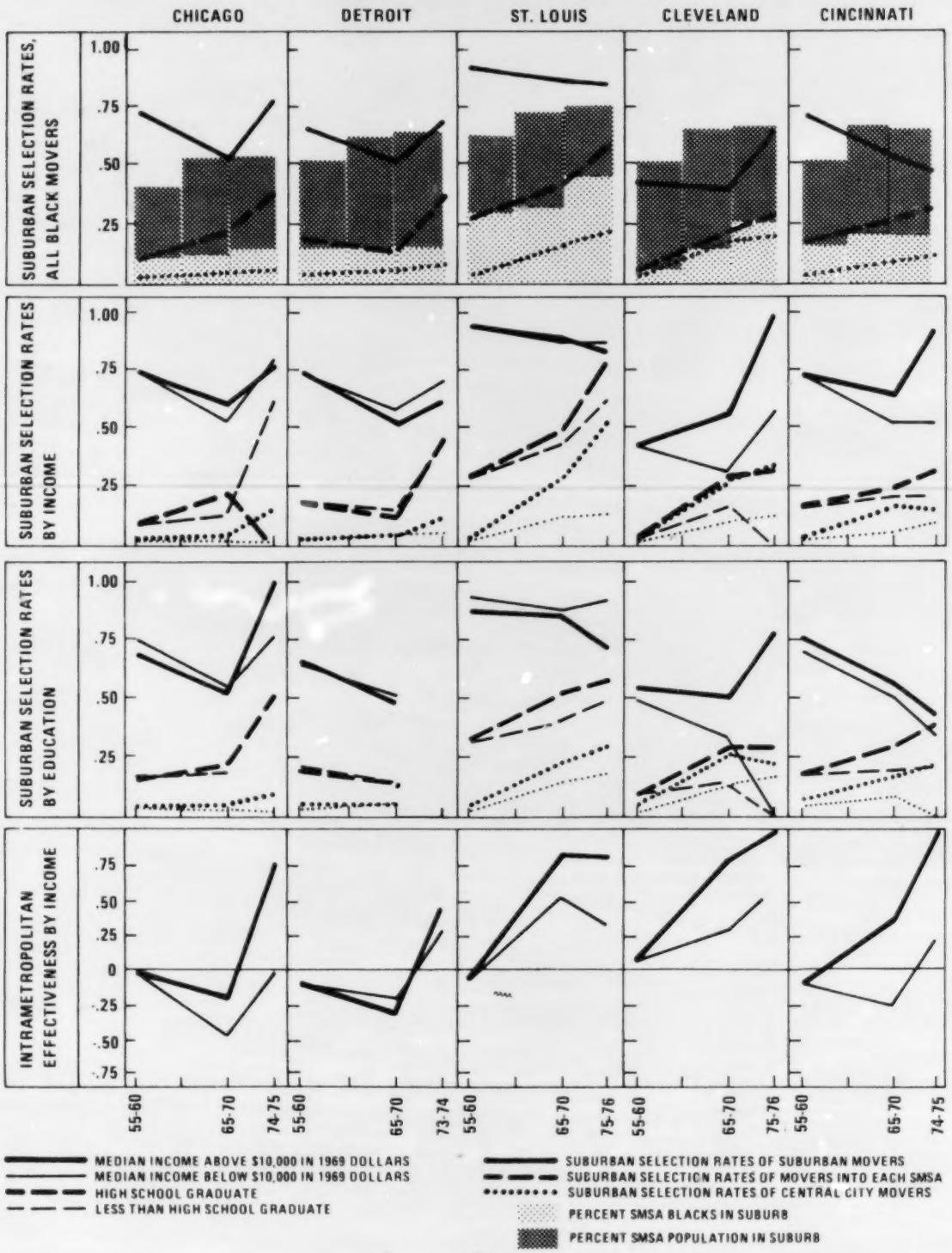


Fig 2 c

SUBURBAN SELECTION RATES OF BLACKS BY ORIGIN, INCOME, AND EDUCATION, SOUTH

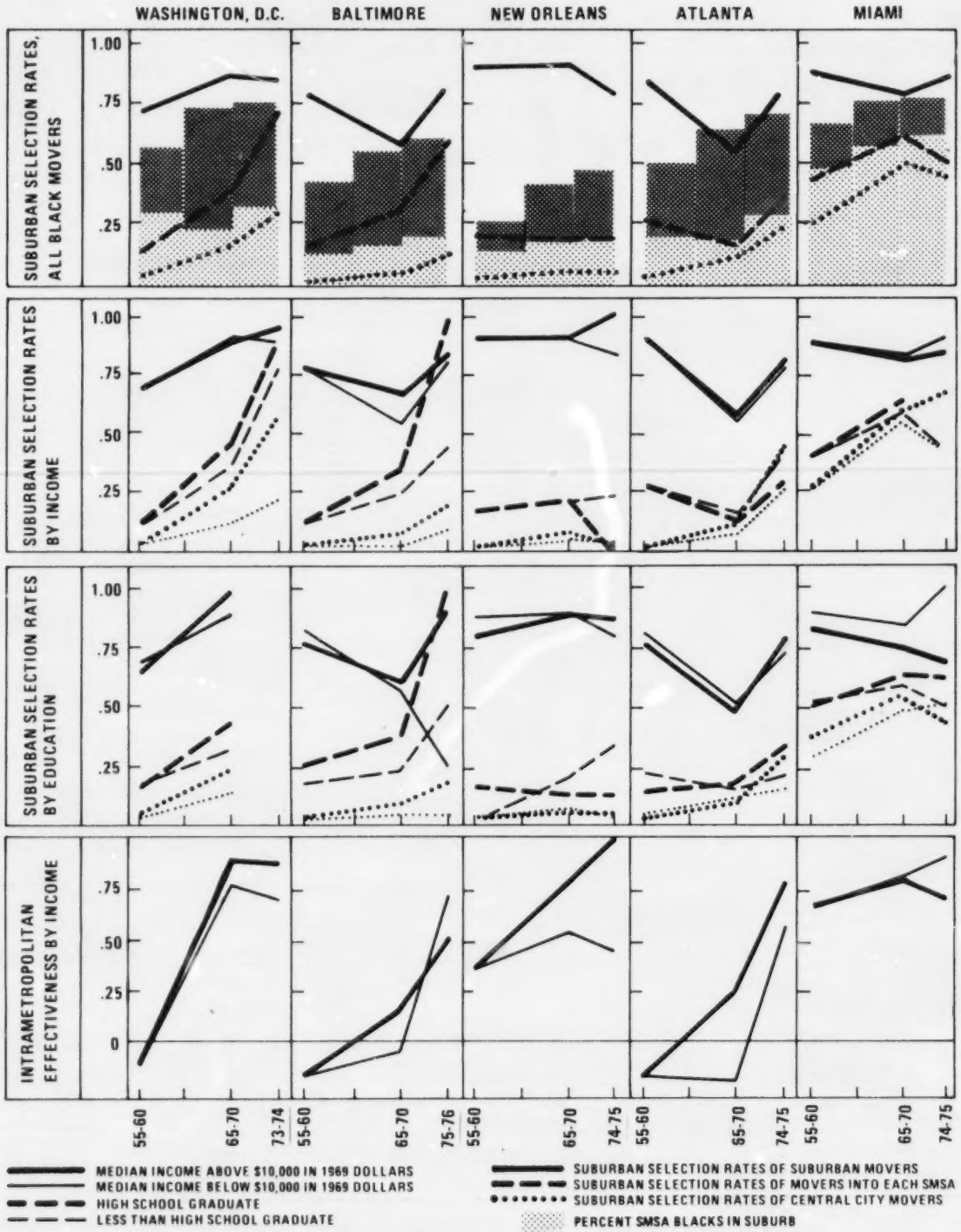
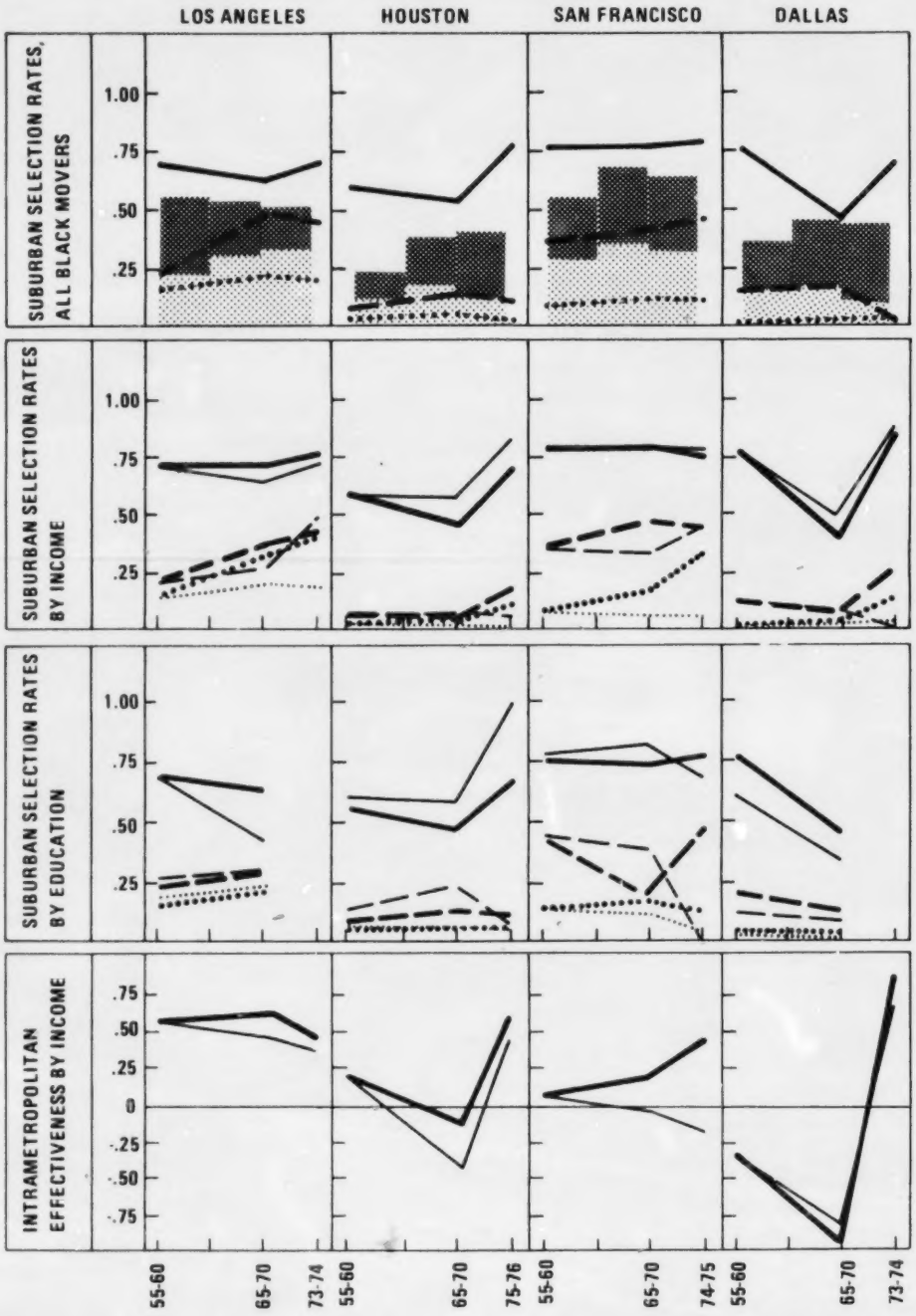


Fig 2 d

SUBURBAN SELECTION RATES OF BLACKS BY ORIGIN, INCOME, AND EDUCATION, WEST



Sharp increases in the rate of lower-income black suburbanization might be an indication of displacement, even in metropolitan areas in which suburbs in the aggregate differentially attract higher-status migrants. Post-1970 increases in suburban selection rates of lower-income city movers that lie above the 1960-1970 trend are found in Atlanta, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Washington, Philadelphia and Cincinnati. Newspaper accounts have linked displacement of blacks from revitalizing inner-city neighborhoods with black suburbanization into Prince Georges county in the Washington area; accordingly, this pattern may reflect displacement from cities in the other SMSAs as well. But in each SMSA other than Cincinnati, the post-1970 upturn was much greater for higher-income blacks, suggesting that choice was the predominant motive.

In sum, the evidence available here suggests that displacement and inadequate housing opportunities remain as much problems for low-income black <u>suburban</u> residents as for those in central cities, and that the bulk of recent increases in black suburbanization is attributable to choice rather than displacement. Indicators that could be interpreted as resulting from displacement from cities are found in only 6 of the 19 SMSAs, and even there the evidence is mixed. The increasing disparities by income since 1970 in suburban selection rates for most Northeastern SMSAs in addition to Cleveland, Cincinnati, and New Orleans rather suggests a relative shortage of lower-cost suburban housing. The conclusion that lower-income blacks are becoming differentially priced out of suburban housing is also supported by the absolute declines in suburban selection rates for lower-income city movers in Miami and Los Angeles, and by all of the positive differentials found by income. The general widening in positive differentials since 1970 furthermore supports the claim that reductions in racial segregation may be accompanied by increases in class and income segregation.

Summary and Discussion

This comparison of trends in white and black intrametropolitan movement over the past two decades demonstrates that the post-1970 national reversal to net migration of blacks from central cities translates into very different patterns of black suburbanization for 19 of the nation's largest metropolitan areas, and thus emphasizes the dangers of basing national policy on aggregate data. In more than half of the SMSAs, black suburbanization has increased little if at all since 1970. Where black suburbanization has increased since 1970, it has been led by higher-status blacks who presumably choose suburban residence.

Table 4 attempts to summarize the diversity of these patterns in terms of the level and change in black suburbanization and the remaining disparities between whites and blacks in choice of suburban over city residence. Black patterns of suburbanization have resembled white throughout the period studied in Los Angeles and Miami, and the post-1970 increases have brought similarity (but not equality) by race to Washington, Cleveland, Newark, St. Louis, and Philadelphia as well.

But elsewhere, suburban residence remains far from equally open to blacks. Despite increases in black suburbanization in Atlanta, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and Cincinnati, white suburban movement remains several times as great. And the seven SMSAs at the bottom left-hand corner of the table show virtually no decrease in the large disparities between whites and blacks in suburban access over the two decades. White city outmigration rates are still double those of blacks; whites are moving to nonmetropolitan areas faster than blacks; and in half of the SMSAs studied, low black rates of movement from cities to their suburbs have scarcely increased during the past two decades of concern and new legislation.

Disaggregating the trends for blacks by income and education, moreover, suggests strongly that the remaining black-white disparities reflect residual barriers to equal access rather than decreasing black desires for suburban residence. Regardless of differences in the pace of recent black suburbanization, suburban selection was greater for blacks of higher socioeconomic status. In many instances, the increasing disparities by income since 1970 suggest that lower-income blacks are finding the high cost of suburban housing more of a barrier than previously.

Although important questions about the extent of local desegregation and the quality of housing of movers remain unanswered by this study, several implications for future intrametropolitan population distribution and for policy seem clear. For large central cities, the differential patterns that remain suggest that the reversal in black migration alone will not quickly change past trends toward racial concentration (Grier and Grier, 1977). Although blacks have joined whites in net outmigration, white outmigration rates are still double blacks. Thus migration will remain, along with fertility and mortality, a differential source of increasing black concentration. Furthermore, the widening differences between upper- and lower-income blacks in suburban selection, a pattern also found for whites (Nelson, 1978) warns that segregation by income may be increasing. Thus major shifts in policies that actively seek to reduce segregation may be ill-advised.

Table 4: The Diverse Patterns of Black Suburbanization, 1955-1976

Similarity/Disparity Between Black and White Patterns Over Time

Level of black suburbanization	Increasingly wide disparities	Continued wide disparities	Decreasing but still wide disparities	Decreasing to moderate disparities	Decreasing to roughly similar	Continued similarity
High all three periods						Miami
						Los Angeles
					Washington	
Increasing to high				Atlanta		
					Cleveland	
				San Francisco*		
					Newark	
					St. Louis	
Increasing to moderate			Baltimore			
				Pittsburgh		
				Cincinnati		
Low with slight increase		Detroit			Philadelphia	
		Dallas				
		Chicago				
Always low	Houston					
		Boston				
		New York				
		New Orleans				

*San Francisco is unique in having both moderate levels of black suburbanization and moderate disparities between black and white movement for all three time periods.

With respect to the fear of displacement, any renewal of dilapidated rental housing to provide lower-density, higher-cost units often displaces current residents and causes hardship in particular neighborhoods. Although black suburbanization to date does not result from displacement, displacement undoubtedly remains a problem. Easing the transition for those least capable of finding better housing should always be a concern of public policy. But because blacks now seem to be joining the long-standing white net outmigration from central cities, further central city decline and increases in black concentration may combine to make abandonment and lack of demand for central city housing a more pressing problem than displacement in the near future.

At the same time, the fact that movement to the suburbs is becoming increasingly differentiated by income for both races points to a continued need to provide low-income housing in suburban areas for those who choose to live there. The data in this paper do not suggest that the past decade's struggle to open suburban housing regardless of class and race has yet been entirely successful or that it should be relaxed.

Footnotes

1. See, most recently, Fleetwood (1979) for an impressionistic account of the "new elite and an urban renaissance," and Allwood's (1978) contention that the urban crisis is moving to the suburbs. Sumka (1978) summarizes some of the many Washington Post and New York Times articles on revitalization of inner-city neighborhoods and the resulting displacement of former residents. Extrapolating from such trends, a Chicago real estate analyst has warned that black suburbanization is short-sighted; by 2000 "all-black suburban ghettos" may well be found outside of a Chicago that is mostly middle or upper class:

> "Unless the black community realizes the asset that it has geographically, and invests its money, time, and talent into these neighborhoods...close to the jobs and economic power of the Loop ...poor blacks will ride trains to the Loop through white and middle-class neighborhoods, sold to them by blacks whose myopia saw only the nearest suburbs." (Travis, 1977)

2. The 1970 Census data were subjected to careful analyses to evaluate the implications of the black suburbanization that occurred during the 1960s. Rose (1972), for example, studied suburban communities with black majorities and determined that most growth occurred on the fringe of existing ghettos. Connolly (1973), focusing upon non-Southern suburban areas where black populations doubled during the decade, found that in most cases suburban blacks "clearly surpassed central city blacks in income, education, job status, and home ownership" but rarely equalled suburban whites in these characteristics.

3. The HUD Report on Displacement concludes:

> "The major conclusion from this survey of displacement studies is that very little reliable information exists. The work which has been done can be characterized as impressionistic and generally devoid of carefully constructed research designs. More importantly, a large portion of the work has been done in Washington, D.C., a city which is not a typical case due to the abundance of white-collar employment, and an extremely low housing vacancy rate."

4. In and prior to the 1970 Census, the convention in measuring migration - in both the Census and the Current Population Reports (CPR) - was to categorize different county migrants by their previous (same-different) State of residence. With this convention, it is not known whether the previous residence of an inmigrant to, say, a central city, was another county of the same central city, its suburbs, or another central city or suburbs. Also, although the total number of outmigrants from a State or other political jurisdiction was tabulated, it was impossible to determine how many migrants moved from suburbs to the central city of the same SMSA. Since 1973, both the Current Population Reports and the Annual Housing Survey record intrametropolitan flows between central cities and their suburbs.

5. The Annual Housing Survey has been conducted annually since 1973 by the Bureau of the Census for the Department of Housing and Urban Development. (See U.S. Bureau of Census, 1975 or 1976 for further details.) Since 1974, 60 of the largest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas have also been sampled to provide more detailed areal detail. Published reports on the housing and personal characteristics of recent movers are found in Series H-170, "Housing Characteristics for Selected Metropolitan Areas." The published data on the central city-noncentral city origin and destination of movers cover only households which had the same head before and after the move, a group which constitutes about 70% of total households. To include all households, all tabulations reported here were drawn from the AHS computer tapes.

6. The Census data for individual SMSAs were taken from Table 4 of Mobility for Metropolitan Areas (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1963) and Table 15 of U.S. Bureau of Census, 1972. It should be noted that neither the racial information nor the population covered are exactly comparable over time. The AHS shows intrametropolitan movement for black and nonblack households. In the 1960 Census, the available information covers white and nonwhite household heads; in 1970 (in lieu of information on household heads), data on the migration of the Negro and non-Negro population 16+ was used.

7. Family income and education are the only indices of socioeconomic status for which information is available in all three periods. For this paper, the dividing points between upper and lower family income brackets were defined as $7,000 in 1959, $10,000 in 1969, $13,500 in 1974, $14,700 in 1975 and $15,300 in 1976, each of which roughly represents $10,000 in 1969 dollars. For the comparisons of family income, the AHS data were tabulated to show migration by number of persons by family income and thus should be almost directly comparable to the Census data for persons. With respect to education, household heads 25 years and older from the Annual Housing Survey are compared with all persons 25+, as shown in the Census reports.

8. As noted above, the racial categories are white and non-white in 1960, and non-black and black in both 1970 and the mid-1970s AHS data.

9. The California and Texas "Sunbelt" SMSAs differ from the others studied in several important respects. Each has a sizable minority population that is non-black, thus confusing the comparisons between 1960 and later dates. Houston has annexed territory equal to 10% of its total area between 1960 and 1973 (ACIR, 1975), and each central city other than San Francisco can be considered "overbounded." In Los Angeles, the black ghetto crosses the city boundary, so that "suburbanization" may only represent movement within the ghetto.

10. The CPS report on mobility of the population did not tabulate 1970-1971 mobility in terms of city/suburban migration, and the report on 1970-1972 mobility was never published. Thus the earliest period for which national data on intrametropolitan migration exists is 1970-1973, and comparable data on a 3-year period is only available for 1975-1978. (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1978.)

11. A further weakness of the comparison of migration rates in this paper (a weakness not found in any of the other measures used) is that rates for

the final time period are for a one-year period, while the Census data cover a five-year period. For purposes of comparison, the one-year rates have been crudely transformed into five-year rates by multiplying them by a factor of 3. This factor was chosen as an average of the factor of 2.8 between five-year and one-year rates found by Long and Boertlein (1977) and the 3.2 geometric mean of the ratios: $\frac{\text{1965-70 inmovement rate}}{\text{1973-74 inmovement rate}}$ for blacks and whites in both central cities and suburbs found for these 19 SMSAs.

12. The intrametropolitan effectiveness measures calculated here are presented from the point of view of the suburbs. Therefore, a positive value indicates net migration toward the suburbs from the central city of the SMSA, while a negative value would imply net movement from the suburbs into the central city.

13. In New York, Boston, and St. Louis, the AHS data for the mid-1970s count almost as many outmigrants from the central city to the suburbs of the same SMSA alone as there were inmigrants from all origins. Unless outmigrants from these cities suddenly atypically all remained within the metropolitan area, a complete count of other outmigrants would undoubtedly show net outmigration.

14. Because of differences in the income distributions of the two racial groups, as long as the propensity to move to (or live in) the suburbs increases with income, the suburban selection rate of all whites would probably exceed that of blacks even if there were no differences in movement due to race alone. Controlling propensity to move to the suburbs by educational status, Frey (1977) demonstrates that an "open suburb model of mover reallocation would have effected substantial increases in black suburban percentages," but that black levels of movement to the suburbs would remain less than white due to status differentials alone.

15. The 1960 Census volume does not provide racial breakdowns for the data on intrametropolitan migration by income. Therefore, Figure 2 graphs the suburban selection rates for all blacks in a particular migration group for the 1955-1960 period.

16. Using 1970 Census data, Cottingham (1975) found little increase in black suburban selection rates with increasing income. Judging from the three periods studied here, the suburbanization of higher-income blacks in Philadelphia has accelerated since 1970.

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